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846 For a whole month after the birth of a child, most people will not enter the courtyard. This tabu applies not only to the room occupied by the woman and child, but to the whole courtyard and contact with the whole family. During this month the mother lives principally on a thin gruel of millet (*mi-t'ang*). The period of seclusion is twenty-nine days after the birth of a boy and thirty days after the birth of a girl. During this period the mother should not go outside of the courtyard to draw water from the well, and she is not allowed to touch religious objects. Among poor people, where the mother cannot afford to be completely idle for a whole month, she begins to do a little household work after three days.

Every three days the mother washes herself with a concoction of cypress twigs, a Tibetan custom, and the child with a concoction of pepper, which is a Chinese custom. The mother puts under the head of her child a small pillow stuffed with dried peas, in order that the child's head may grow perfectly round, and she rubs the child's head several times a day for the same reason. On [302] the twentieth day the child's head is shaved. The mother also constantly pulls the lobes of the child's ears in order that they may grow long and pendulous.[26] A round head, long ear lobes and small, fine hands are the most important criteria of beauty and an omen of good fortune in life.

On the third day after the birth of the child the father, dressed in his best and carrying a bottle of wine and a *khatag* or scarf of felicity goes to announce the happy news to his wife's family. When he enters their room, he asks for a cup, pours wine, and offers the cup t his wife's parents and her maternal uncles; he then bows, makes a prostration, and formally announces the sex of the child and the fact that mother and child are doing well, and invites his relatives-in-law to pay a visit. On the same day the mother-in-law comes to see her grandchild and to congratulate her daughter, bringing with her a present of some millet and some money. On the seventh day the father consults a lama of the Red Hat sect and asks him to foretell the fortune of the child by divination. On the twentieth day (the same day that the child's head is shaved), the father pays another visit to his wife's parents, again with wine and a scarf of felicity, and formally invites them and the maternal uncles to take part in festivities on the twenty-ninth or thirtieth day, according to the sex of the child.

NAME-GIVING

553 If the child is a boy, he is given his name on the
251 twenty-ninth day, before the guests arrive. The father, in his best clothes, goes to the room of the grandfather

[26] In the most ancient Buddhist iconography Buddha as a young prince, before he turned to religion, was represented with heavy earrings that dragged down the lobes of his ears. In later representations of Buddha as a divinity, the ear rings have disappeared but the deformed lobes remain. Hence pendulous ear lobes are regarded as "Buddha-like."—O. L. [P. 100b]

291 The gown is of dark blue cotton cloth, cut from the neck down and across under the right arm, and buttoned under the arm and down the side. A woman's gown opens on the left side instead of the right, and is worn hanging down to the heels. Men wear a sash or belt, keeping the hem of the gown hanging just a little below the knees, and loosening up the breast of the gown so that it provides a capacious pocket into which they stuff their eating bowls and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown roughly woven of white wool. A woman's working gown is woven of black and brown wool. Rich people wear a gown woven of Tibetan wool serge (*p'u-lu*). The ends of the men's sashes are seldom embroidered and on holidays they wear a vest or sleeveless jacket which is much less ornamented than that worn by women.

Men shave the front of the head and grow the hair at the back of the crown long so that it can be braided into a "pigtail" which is lengthened with green strings with tassels at the ends. They wear small, round felt hats.

302 [858] A boy's head is not shaved until he is seven or eight, at which time he begins to braid his hair in a "pigtail." A boy's costume is in general just like that of a man, but with few ornaments.

A man is not allowed to grow a beard as long as his parents are living. A man may begin to grow a beard when he is about the age of thirty if his parents died when he was relatively young. The growing of the beard is started on the first day of either the first or second moon of the new year. Some old men shave their heads clean when they reach the age of about sixty, and women of sixty also frequently cut off their long hair. Both men and women when they do this take vows like those taken by lamas and devote the rest of their lives to prayer in order to provide for a happy rebirth.

306 The only men who wear earrings are those who, described in the chapter on children, have received the "flower of longevity" from a maternal uncle in childhood. Later this "flower of longevity" is replaced by a single large silver earring.

Many men are fond of wearing a bracelet, but only on one wrist. It is usually a heavy copper ring, silver plated and carved with Chinese designs. Nearly all young people wear a bracelet on each wrist, resembling the single bracelet of a grown man. A man also hangs from his belt or sash a sheath containing a knife and chopsticks. Some of these are beautifully carved and ornamented with coral and turquoise.

A man's finger ring is made of two thin, small rings with a broad ring soldered outside them. A piece of coral or turquoise is set in this ring.

173 291 512 The national legends and traditions of the Monguors are associated much more with the striking costumes of the women than with the comparatively simple costumes of the men. Some of these legends have already been mentioned. Another concerns the Li clan of Shat'o Turkish origin which claims as its ancestor the

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292 hanging beside the ends of the sash now take the place of this flag, while the jingling of the string of copper coins take the place of the rustling noise formerly made by the tasseled paper strips.

The following description of the costume of the Miao women of southern and southwest China shows many striking resemblances to Monguor costume:

> All the collars are usually so loaded with designs and embroidery in all shapes and all colors that it is difficult to see the color of the fabric. The sleeves, similarly, are covered with bands of fabric of different colors, sewn on in flounces from the wrist to the elbow. In some tribes the boys wear as many flounces as the girls. Among the White Miao the skirts have no ornamentation whatever except pleats, but in most of the other tribes they are hidden under embroidery done in colored thread, patterns made with wax [11] and a multiplicity of bits of fabric of various colors sewn on to the skirt. The Miao women make all these embroideries . . . they all know how to embroider, cut clothes, and sew. . . .[12]

302 Even more important for a Monguor woman than her clothes are her hair and her headdress. Hair as black as ebony is the most admired. Many Monguors have a reddish tinge in their black hair, but women consider this a blemish. The way of doing the hair and the headdress are strictly ruled by tradition. When a girl marries out of her own group, she must adopt the coiffure of her husband's group.

There are a few exceptions to this rule. In the subprefecture of Maopeisheng there are groups of Monguors who settled as "colonists" from overcrowded regions. The tendency was for groups coming from the same region to settle together. When new brides go to these colonies, they are allowed to wear the coiffure of their group or origin for only three days—a sort of affectionate and touching farewell to the past—after which they must adopt the local fashion. Among the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, of Shat'o origin, where denationalization has gone farthest, sometimes as many as three different ways of doing the hair can be seen in the same family. I have heard Monguors of other clans criticizing the Li T'u-ssu for not doing his duty in keeping up the traditions of his clan in this respect.

291 292 Under the empire, Chinese women in this part of China never wore hats. Monguor married women, in contrast, always wear a hat, even at home. Not only do the elders insist on the observance of this tradition, but other people would laugh at a bareheaded woman. At home a small, round felt hat is worn and on holidays a special hat, different for each group. Only when a woman has left her husband's house for a visit at her parents' home is she allowed to go without a hat—a sentimental privilege giving her parents the illusion of seeing her again as she was before she was married. In contrast with this custom is the fact that a woman who

[11] This reference is to a method of making patterns, leaving part of the fabric exposed and covering part of it with wax to prevent the dye from reaching it.—O. L.

[12] Savina, *Histoire des Miao*, as cited. [P. 121a]

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291 has passed the age of forty and would not ordinarily
292 continue to wear her ceremonial hat on festive occasions will, if her parents are still alive, continue to wear it for a few more years in order to give her parents the feeling that they have not reached extreme old age. In such cases, the woman also wears for a few extra years her fancy extra sleeves and the other showy parts of her costume. After the death of her parents, however, all this finery is put away forever, and she wears only the small felt hat.

291 There are nine different styles of hairdress and hat,
302 each peculiar to one Monguor group. The spellings given below are taken, in simplified form, from the phonetic transcriptions in *Dictionnaire Monguor-français*, by A. De Smedt and A. Mostaert. The basic term for the Monguor woman's headdress is *niudar*, and according to these authorities its etymology appears to be obscure. It may be from an old word for "head," or from a word possibly meaning "bridle."

1. *rdziämu niudar*. This style is called "the Chinese style," from the Tibetan word *rgyami*, "Chinese." The Monguors explain that in early times this style was peculiar to the Monguors, but that it was adopted by the women of the first Chinese colonists who settled in the region. This explanation is reasonable enough, since nowhere in China do women arrange their hair in this way. The foundation of this headdress is made by cutting strips of black or dark blue cotton cloth six inches long and three inches wide, which are pasted together to make a stiff board a quarter of an inch thick. While this board is still wet and soft, it is stretched over a convex tile to give it a curved shape. A hole is cut in the middle of this board.

To dress the hair, a lock is first combed down from the forehead. The rest of the hair is combed straight back to the nape of the neck, twisted loosely, and tied with red string. The tress of hair from the back of the head is then brought up to the top of the head, twisted together with the lock of hair from the forehead, fastened with red string, and passed through the hole in the pasteboard "crown" and twisted into a "bun." Several pins three inches long are stuck through this "bun" to hold it. It should be noted here that Monguor women neither shave their forehead nor pluck their eyebrows as Chinese women used to do.

With this headdress there goes a pair of earrings which are made as follows: from the hole pierced in the ear there hangs a silver hook. To this is soldered a small plate representing the head of a tiger, from which hang five small chains. To these chains is soldered a plate with flower designs, from which hang seven small silver chains. The weight of the earring is held up by a string running back of the ear.

This headdress is used by the women of the valley of Lumen, near the sub-prefecture of Xienpei. The rest of the costume that goes with this headdress consists of

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FIG. 4. Huari Niudar. Front and back views of a poor Monguor widow with her two children. She wears the headdress called "Huari Niudar." Note details: shield, spear, disc, red strings, shells, corals, etc.

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a long blue gown reaching to the knees, a sleeveless jacket, blue or violet trousers, Chinese socks, and instead of boots a kind of shoe with long upcurving toes. The men of this group dress in the Chinese fashion but still wear the Monguor felt hat. The group contains subjects of the Ch'i T'u-ssu who still speak the Monguor language, but at the time that I was in the region they were rapidly being assimilated to the Chinese. It is worth noting that, although the women of this group do not wear the "military" skirt or the shield and spear described below, they are convinced that the way in which they do their hair is the original, ancestral style of the days of Chingis Khan.

2. The *Huari niudar* (or *Barbardzin niudar*, "crested hat"). This is the style worn by the women of the region of Huari, north of the Hsining River. First, a lock of hair is combed down from the forehead. The rest of the hair is parted in the middle, and made into two braids, one on each side of the head. The ends of these braids are tightly tied together with red string. A ribbon of black cotton is tied around the head. Another ribbon of the same material goes over the top of the head, and the forehead lock is tucked back into it. The rest of this headdress is made as follows:

A head is roughly molded of clay and strips ot cotton cloth are pasted on this mold, to form a pasteboard skull-

291/302 cap. A high, semicircular brim is pasted on the forehead of the cap. Strips of red, blue, green, and white cotton fabric are then pasted on the crown. A tassel of thin red strings is pasted in a semicircle across the crown of the cap, from side to side. Behind this tassel, small copper rods are set in semicircles. A hole is made in the crown of the cap; when the cap is set on the head, a ribbon is braided into the forehead tress, pulled back under the cap, brought up through this hole, and rolled into a small bun. Two long pins are pushed criss-cross through the bun, and the bun is then covered with an inverted copper cup, transfixed by a large horizontal pin. This cup and pin represent the shield and spear of the warrior. Thin red strings attached to the pins under the cup are looped up and attached to the "spear" pin. At the back of this headdress there is a disc, made by pasting pieces of cotton cloth together, trimmed around the edge with pieces of cloth of different colors and encrusted with shells, pearls, mother of pearl, corals, and turquoise, imitation and genuine. This disc is held firm to the skullcap by red strings.

The earrings that go with this headdress are large and heavy. To the hook that hangs from the ear is soldered a plate with a dragon, tiger, or flower design. From this plate hang silver sticks or pins. To prevent these heavy earrings from tearing the ears, their weight is held up

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by a ribbon which is attached to the ribbon going around the head, and each earring is attached to the other by a chain encrusted with coral or pearls which passes under the chin.

This headdress is worn by the women of the valleys of Hungnai, Shuimo, and Ch'angsha. At home, these women wear a hat representing only the upper part of the headdress, without the ornaments.

3. *T'oguäan niudar* (*T'ukuan niudar*). This headdress, worn only by the women of the region under the jurisdiction of the T'ukuan Living Buddha, is the same as the one just described, with the exception that instead of the semicircle on the forehead there is a three-pronged pasteboard fork. The earrings that go with this headdress are the same as those described above.

FIG. 5. Huari Niudar. A rich Monguor woman in home dress, wearing the Huari Niudar or "crested headdress," but without the encumbering disc on the back. She wears the winter jacket, wadded with wool or cotton, and is proud of her motherly sleeves.

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4. *Sge niudar* ("great" or "honorable" headdress). The mold or skullcap for this headdress is made as previously described. On the top of it is pasted a miniature winnowing basket, for which reason this headdress is also known as the "winnowing basket" headdress. In front, there are tassels of red thread, and at the sides are fringes of red thread. In the middle of the front of the headdress there are pieces of glass or porcelain and one or two rows of pieces of shell or coral. At the back are eight movable copper plates, which are taken off when at home. In the middle of these eight plates are the historic miniature shield and spear, from which hang red threads. Under the shield there is a small crescent shaped cushion, held by the ribbons which go around the head. This cushion is covered with black yak hair. Whenever a woman goes to a festival she puts hemp oil on this cushion to make it shine. This cushion is called "the heart of the hair." As in numbers 2 and 3 described above, there is a strong ribbon going around the head and a central ribbon from the forehead to the nape of the neck. A small braid is plaited from the forehead lock, to be attached to the ribbon going over the top of the head, and the remainder of the hair is parted in the middle and combed over the ears in graceful waves. The ends of the hair falling over the ears are twisted together, tied with a ribbon to the forehead braid, and brought up through the hole in the skullcap to form a bun, which is covered with the "shield" and fixed with the "spear."

With this headdress is worn a collar woven of tamarisk twigs, covered with red cotton cloth to which are sewn shells and corals. The earrings are the same as those described under number 2. A red shirt is worn with this headdress. Instead of copper, rich people use a silver shield, 8 silver plates, silver pins, and silver earrings. Ordinarily, this headdress is given to a girl at the time of her marriage by her parents. It is worn up to the age of forty. To protect the headdress women always carry with them a large piece of cotton cloth to wrap around their heads in case of rain. When a woman dies, this headdress is offered to a monastery. It is sold by the monastery at public auction, and prayers are said for the dead woman according to the price at which the headdress has been auctioned.

This headdress weighs six or seven pounds (four or five Chinese *chin*), and the women who wear it walk like living statues; when they talk together, they move their heads slowly and majestically.

5. *Dzion niudar* ("needle headdress"). This headdress is like the one just described, except that the eight plates around the shield are smaller, and that a set of large copper pins forms a sort of halo around the shield. This headdress is worn by the Nima women of Lungwu and the Tsanskwor region.

6. *Sgulong niudar* ("rain-spout" headdress). This headdress is the same as number 4, except that the "winnowing basket" is depressed between the two side

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FIG. 6. Sge Niudar, the "great" or "honorable" headdress. The woman in the middle is of Tibetan origin but enrolled in a Monguor clan. She wears the simple Tibetan costume. The two on each side are Monguor, wearing the elaborate Monguor costume and the monumental "great" or "honorable" headdress. The photograph shows the pattern of the jacket, the double set of sleeves, the sash, the collar with shells and corals, and the enormous headdress described in the text.

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bunches of hair, and is level with the "shield." It is worn by the women of the region of Areche, west of Weiyüanp'u, by those of Ch'ichiarechu, and those of Machiarechu of T'assu, near Weiyüanp'u.

7. *Yu niudar* ("disc" headdress). This headdress is the same as number 4, except that the cushion covered with yak hair is replaced by a small disc adorned with pieces of shell and coral.

8. *Ndziäsc niudar* ("plow" headdress). This headdress is again the same as number 4, except that its dimensions are smaller. The red fringes in front are longer. Formerly, the eight plates were worn at the back, but in recent times they have been replaced by a piece of red cotton cloth. The two tresses from the sides of the head and the small tress and ribbon from the forehead are fastened together at the nape of the neck around a small piece of wood, tied with red strings, and passed through the skullcap so that they hold it in place. The "shield" and "spear" are pinned to the knot of hair that comes through the skullcap.

Special earrings are worn with this headdress. They are made of silver in the shape of a *Z*. The lower part

291 of the *Z* is passed through the lobe of the ear and then turned up to hook into the upper part. It is said that 302 this is the primitive design of all Monguor earrings, and there is a tradition that such earrings were formerly made of bones. It almost seems that they might be a relic of the neolithic period before metal was used.

9. *Sogmu niudar* ("Mongol woman's") headdress, from the Tibetan *sogmu*, "a Mongol woman." This way of doing the hair, preserved among only one of nine Monguor groups, is that which most nearly resembles, in essentials, the Mongol style of hairdress. The hair is parted in the middle of the head and braided in two plaits which hang down in front of the shoulders on the chest. Each braid is wrapped in a sheath which reaches nearly to the knees, and the sheath is both held in by the sash and buttoned to the gown to keep it firm. The sheaths worn on holidays are embroidered. A small round felt hat goes with this headdress, which is used by the women of Patsasanch'eng and of the valley of Hualin.

302 Anthropologists often overlook the psychological im- 291 portance of customs and costumes. It seems to me that 182

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in spite of the poor materials used by the Monguors, the clumsiness of the headdresses, and certain childish aspects of the festivals at which these costumes are paraded, it is important to realize that all this display, pathetic though it may seem, brings happiness to the people, especially the women. Whenever I attended festivals in the Monguor country I could not but notice the atmosphere of joy and happiness, especially among the women. The holiday and the opportunity to display their costumes gave them psychologically a reinforcement of their self-esteem, and when they went home they were better able

FIG. 7. Sge Niudar, the "great" or "honorable" headdress. Back view of the costume shown in fig. 6, showing the historical shield and spear, the eight movable plates, the cushion forming the "heart of the hair," and the tassels and fringes.

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to cope with the routine of their ordinary lives as the result of a day of real happiness. At the festival they had felt and acted as if they belonged to the most beautiful and happy people in the world. Proud as peacocks, they had walked smiling through the throngs as if they were queens. They had listened with pleasure to the jingling of the strings of copper coins hanging from their sashes; they had been delighted by the fluttering of the silk and satin handkerchiefs hanging by the embroidered ends of their sashes. They had enjoyed the fragrance of the strong musk perfume on their garments, and they had been admired and congratulated.

Unmarried girls are not dressed as gaudily as the married women. They wear blue cotton trousers, the attached lower legs of which are made of red cloth. Their blue cotton boots are embroidered with Chinese designs, usually of flowers. They wear the long gown of violet, green, blue, or red cotton cloth, with an apron over it. The hem of the gown is decorated with red cotton stitching. The collar is always of red cotton, and is embroidered. The sash is a piece of red cotton cloth, without embroidery. The sleeveless jacket is of green, blue, or red cotton trimmed at the edges with red stitching. Unmarried girls wear their hair in a small "bun" on top of the head, bound with red cord and covered with a shell. The rest of their hair is braided in two plaits, bound together at the neck with red cord and covered with a short sheath decorated with shells. Unmarried girls never wear hats. In winter they cover their ears and the side of their foreheads with a strip of red cotton cloth.

Both married and unmarried women wear bracelets, sometimes three or four pairs, and silver rings on the fourth finger of each hand—sometimes three or four rings on the same finger. The rings are sometimes of plain silver and sometimes set with coral or turquoise. Unmarried girls wear only small, simple rings in their ears. The earlobe is pierced in the spring on the day of the festival of the ancestors.

Both men and women often wear a reliquary on the chest, made like those worn by Mongols and Tibetans, often of silver, containing bits of writing from Tibetan scriptures, and sometimes miniature Buddhas.

HANDICRAFTS AND ORIGIN OF ARTISANS

There are, of course, no large scale industries among the Monguors. Most of their necessities can be bought either in the Chinese towns, or at the monastery festivals or the fairs that are held at the time of the clan assemblies. The handicrafts that are found among the Monguors themselves are limited to weaving, felt making, the making of fur coats, and the work of silversmiths. In addition there are a few carpenters and stone cutters.

The Monguors spin their own woolen yarn. Men, women, and older children spin when they have nothing else to do, drawing out the threads from a handful of

/32 cont'd/

583 The two parties both make excuses to the other: one for its poverty and the hard times, "I could not offer more, but what is offered is given wholeheartedly"; the other for its indigence, "I was forced to ask for much too much, but now I am more than satisfied with the gifts...."

584 Then when all have taken their places again, the go-between rises and proposes to the family that they present the "flower," that is, the little bride.

They hasten to spread out a red rug or piece of red felt in the middle of the room, and the little bride, chaperoned by a young girl, appears before the assemblage. The two girls hold each other by the hand.

[302] The bride has risen early in the morning, has washed with all kinds of soap, and her hair has been dressed by the most skillful woman in the neighborhood. She has put on her handsomest finery, she has beautiful flowers in her hair, and she is made up in such a way as to be longer recognizable. Her companion, a little girl like herself, has a more modest toilette; she has no flowers in her hair, she wears a black veil on her head. They are certainly "the amazon and the little white goose"; no chance of making a mistake who is the bride.

[516 576] They advance toward the middle of the rug, facing the future father-in-law, let go their hands, bow respectfully, kneel, bow their foreheads to the ground three times, rise, and begin the same prostration over again three times. This is the ancient Chinese greeting on grand occasions. Everything is done gravely and sedately. They are well-trained T'ou-jen girls! Also their childhood games are [524] only the apprenticeship /33/ for the ceremonial. All girls play at ceremonies; they adore them. This is characteristic of the Orient.

583 584 One sees that the "flower" is aware of her own important and that of the moment; she tries to make a good impression on the assemblage, and the future father-in-law smiles, becomes young again, throws on the rug with a generous gesture two or three handfuls of red lozenges and a handful of cash, emblems of good fortune and wealth. The guests do the same. The girls pick up everything.

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535 In the evening of the last day of the year, in the kitchen, in
302 front of the fireplace and before the image of the god of the hearth, they plait the bride's hair in the fashion of married women. The groom arrives, the whole family is together; the engaged couple kneel and bow three times to the god of the hearth. The marriage ceremony is completed! They prostrate themselves to their parents and to the whole family; a little extra is served at the meal, and they wish one another better days and a return of good fortune.

463 On the first days of the new year the parents invite the go-
465 between, they dine the best they can, they pour gin, and the young
58 couple prostrate themselves to him. Then they offer the go-between the usual present of the poor, either a string of cash or a string of cash and 400 cash. They make excuses for the little that they can offer, they thank him effusively, and then they have discharged their obligations.

585 When the bride's family is very poor, it happens that the groom's family (mother-in-law and go-between) take the girl to their home when she is only nine or ten years old or even younger. They keep her in the family as an unmarried girl until she has reached 15; /40/ then the last day of the year she is married as described above. Marriage without ceremonies is also practiced in the [illegible] month of the year when there is a sudden death near the time of the wedding in one of the families of the engaged couple; the same would the girl's parents die; then the groom's family hastens to take the girl home to marry her when she is about 15.

765 Among the more Chinese Tou-jen, upon the death of the
585 parents of one of the parties several days before the wedding, they follow the Chinese custom, which consists in celebrating the marriage without paying attention to the death. The festivities take place with the usual vigor. Only on the day after the wedding do the lamentations and the great mourning begin; the death is announced everywhere and preparations for the funeral are made.

583 /47 cont'd/
585 drops, silver rings....It even happens that rich people give their
431 daughter several /48/ arpents of land, which are called ngusge
602 gadiziar (ngusge, "rouge"; gadiziar, "land"), i.e., the land which
[425] procures the girl's rouge, with the condition that the husband must sow it and give the revenue from it to his wife. Thereafter, if the son-in-law's family is ever forced to sell these lands, the first offer will have to be made to the wife's family.

423 About 30 years ago, the Ma family of Na-lin-keou had re-
583 ceived in marriage a girl, Pao, who had received from her parents some "rouge lands." The Ma family became poor and mortaged these lands to the Pen family; later it sold them to the Heou family. The Pens, basing their right on the Chinese axiom, "He who holds a mortgage has prior right of purchase," brought an action against the Mas and demanded the turning over of the lands. But then the Pao family appeared and claimed these lands as being the "rouge lands" given to their aunt at the time of her marriage. The Chinese court recognized this custom and decided in their favor.

This same custom is still found among the Mongols. Recently, the king of Orat of the confederation of Olantsh'ah, giving his daughter in marriage to the king of Hang'King of the confederation of the Ortos, gave her on this occasion part of the lands of Sainnoor (30 li southwest of the Christendom of San-tao-k'iao, Mission of Ning-Hia).

585 As for the gifts of which I have spoken above, there are
583 numerous variants; I knew a case where the girl was given only six long garments; another where she was given ten; everything depends on the financial situation of the family.

The women in particular are very much interested in the gifts; they examine the fabrics and the finish of the embroideries, especially those on the sleeves and the two ends of the belts. Months and months of work are often put on these pieces. When the examination is finished, the bride is brought in.

She is carried on a small, low Chinese table, which has been covered /49/ previously with red felt. She is put down between the sacred fire and the display of presents. This is her first and only
[302] appearance at this festivity. She is bareheaded and wears the hair style of unmarried girls.

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588 A. To a prayer pole, a tree, a wall, a lion of baked clay, etc.

B. Marriages to a belt

Let us note that the marriages in the first series are also practiced by the Tibetans of Kansu, who live in a seminomadic and semiagrarian state; they are not found among the Chinese of the region.

A. Marriages to a Prayer Pole, etc.

114 Let us first put forth the case, then let us justify the classification of this practice in the series of marriages.

One can read in the books which speak of the T'ou-jen that this people includes girls, unmarried all their lives, who, however, bear children just the same. The Chinese books especially try to disparage this people particularly because of this custom. Now, they are mistaken. These superficial observers have understood nothing about the customs of these regions. It is not by this custom that the morality of the T'ou-jen must be judged.

844 [302 554] To be able to bear a child honestly (for there is an honesty also among these peoples), custom /127/ requires, without any exception whatever, that the mother wear her hair in the style of married women; in other words, this is to say that it is necessary to be married to be able to become a mother.

848 [847] Now it happens that girls not yet given in marriage are pregnant. Two solutions then present themselves: the first is to bring on an abortion or to wait until the child is born to make it disappear or to offer it to anyone who wants it; the second is to change the hair style of the girl, that is to say, to get her married.

588 [848] When the second solution is adopted, they invite three or four neighbors, who with the family are present at the "marriage." They have been careful to prepare the attire of the bride. She arrays herself with it and has her hair done in the style of married women. Two lamps are lighted, and the sacred fire placed in the middle of the courtyard is maintained by means of cypress branches. After spreading out pieces of red felt, they proceed to the marriage, which

Mo 586 593 /148 cont'd/ children are accepted in the family to keep the daughter-in-law home better, say the T'ou-jen, and to avoid a second escapade. Then, if later one wants to get rid of them, one will send the boys to the lamasery to devote themselves to the service of Buddha; as for the girls, they will be given in marriage. I confess I have not met polyandry among the T'ou-jen.

Mo 548 Likewise, prostitution in the strict sense of the word is not known. Although there are the series of prayer-post wives and belt wives, they cannot be classed in this category. Indeed, they consider themselves as being married, and they are considered as such, and furthermore they hardly ply the trade of prostitutes. (1)

Ma 548] 1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit., p. 152: Prostitution as a social phenomenon among the Manchus is unknown. /Cited in English./

Mo 589 793 Celibacy is practiced solely by the lamas of the yellow sect, and the T'ou-jen furnish a sizable contingent to this religious body. They are the only bachelors among the T'ou-jen. There is no lamasery for women in the country; all the women without exception Mo [302] practice marriage under one or the other of the forms we have described above. It happens at the very most that one meets widows or women of advanced age who shave their heads and devote themselves especially to prayer while staying at home.

/149/ Chapter VI

The Matriarchate

OOC Summary: -- A. Present-day patriarchal state. System of the large family. B. Former matriarchate proved by: (1) Double burial. (2) The relations of the maternal uncle with the family of his sister

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2: Schram--198 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

An Ing-tang Sien-cheng Chinese, in fine array, in front of the door of his house. At the left his pupil-apprentice, in the background his old servant.

2: Schram--199 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress, an enormous headdress on her head. She wears the costume peculiar to the T'ou-jen.

2: Schram--201 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Young T'ou-jen married woman in festive dress, T'ou-jen costume.

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2: Schram--204 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

T'ou-jen widow with her two daughters, in T'ou-jen dress.

Note the hair style. There are nine kinds of them. Li Kin-wang, ancestor of the Li clan had nine wives and each of them had her special hair style; from that the nine T'ou-jen hair styles still seen today!

2: Schram--205 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Two girls belonging to a Tibetanized T'ou-jen family. They wear the dress of the girls of Hoa-ri (northern Sining). The older one is spinning with the distaff and carries at the nape of the neck the stick to which she fastens the thread; the little one pulls out the wool.

2: Schram--207 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Rich T'ou-jen widow, no longer speaking her language, wearing no longer the costume of her race. Type of completely Sinicized T'ou-jen, even having the little Chinese feet. However, at her death she will be dressed in the T'ou-jen style for her last toilette!

3: Schröder--84 M-5 (1946-1949)1952-1953 AE9 Monguor AE9

[Between pp. 48 and 49.]

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142
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Plate I

a

b

792
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c

d

(Caption on following page.)

[46 cont.]

[Pages 46-49 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. Plates 1 and 2 appear between pp. 48 and 49.]

Caption for Plate 1.

a: The informant Tuo Yifula from Tuo-chia near Chi-chia-ling in Huchu County. Tujen. Born March, 1883; died in the autumn of 1949. Taken in the mission station at Kanchia-p'u, summer, 1948. (To accompany "Introduction.") b: Lama setting the conch to his mouth for blowing. Taken May 11, 1949, in the monastery Fu-hai-szu or Hsin-szu (Guămbasoma) in the vicinity of the Koko Nor. (To accompany the chapter: "The Incense Offering.") c: A Tulku with his cult-apparatus at prayer. In front of him the text, in his left hand the mani-string. In the background assisting lamas. Taken in the monastery Fu-hai-szu, May, 1948. (To accompany the chapter: "The Lama-reception.") d: Gurtum from Hei-tsui-p'u in the Hsi-ch'uan. Taken in his yard, autumn, 1948. We were not allowed to enter through the yard gate, but had to climb in over the roof; this is what the tutelary spirit demanded. In his right hand the gurtum is holding the spirit-spear, in his left the catching line and the spirit-sword with the handle down. He is not wearing the five-part crown. This simple kind of gurtum is very widespread in Tsinghai. (To accompany the chapter: "The Gurtum.")

[50 cont.]
7777 always inside the house. In such a case the arrow is not made or
*7778 consecrated by a lama or Bon priest (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 52.] For the preparation of the urn, cf. the section: "The Earth-god Urn."

Attachments: Always and in all cases hadas and sheep wool are attached to the arrow. If the arrow is consecrated, a small copper mirror is usually also attached to it. -- When
[237 432] an animal is sold or given away, some of its hair is tied to the arrow, as in the case of horses, donkeys, and mules. The hair is taken from the mane or tail. Similarly, when a sheep is sold some wool is also tied on. Hog bristles, however, may never be tied to the arrow of good fortune. -- After a child's first haircut,
[302 852] on the first birthday, the downy hairs that have been cut off are rolled into a little ball, and a thread is drawn out of it, with which the ball is tied to the arrow; similarly the bow and arrow that the child seized as an oracle on this occasion is tied to it. -- When a daughter is married, a number of small strips of cloth
[585] are cut from the seam of her bridal [51] dress for the arrow. Also some hair of the bride, which was combed out during the hair-dressing and adornment on the eve of her being taken away, is carefully collected and attached to the arrow of good fortune (4).

4. [Foreign text pp. 52-53.] The fact that sheep wool is always attached to the arrow, as to the obo, seems to be connected with the sheep of good fortune; cf. below. F. Lessing (Yung Ho Kung, p. 148) would like to connect the little balls of wool (cotton) with the thread figures (mdos), which hold fast the demons. -- Occasionally, silk threads in the five sacred colors are also added. Hair

[621 cont.]

852 553 take no further notice of this ceremony, but drink and dance far into the night; then they gradually scatter. Only the closest relatives of the young mother stay until the next day.

[622]

Word List

192 846 To be in childbed: sara sōdzi = she sits out the month; tsuo yüeh (Chin.).

To terminate the confinement: sara durgeni = she terminates the month.

ch'u-yüeh (Chin.) = to step out of the month.

man-yüeh (Chin.) = to fulfill the month.

[852] Reception of the shepherd: asdzi dzēlie-; ying-yang (Chin.) = to welcome the sheep.

[Page 622 contains the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

852 527

2. The First Birthday*

* See "Notes," pp. 623-625 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[787] [302] [778] On the first birthday the father puts the child on the kang and places various things before it. From the object that the child grasps it can be seen what it will become in later life. After that its hair is cut and this is hung on the arrow of good fortune.

[623 cont.]
852 and arrow, he will be a strong warrior; if he grasps brush and
787 paper, he will be a learned scholar. It is similar for the girl.
778 The object that is chosen by the child is hung on the arrow of good fortune (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 624.] Concerning the arrow of good fortune, cf. the appropriate section. Tying the object grasped by the child to the arrow is supposed to preserve the child's strength so it will develop in the direction indicated. On the arrow of good fortune in the yard of my informant, I saw a large number of miniature bows, arrows, and balls of hair of his children and grandchildren.

302 The haircut: The child still has downy hair because it
852 has not been shorn since birth. Now the father or some other man takes it in his arms and takes it into the yard. There another man shaves its head, regardless of whether it is a boy or a girl. One or two tufts of hair remain standing on the back of
[778] the head (4). The father twists the hair between the palms of

4. [Foreign text p. 624.] The tufts of hair that are left were probably intended as beginnings for the later hairdress (queue). It could not be determined whether they might perhaps have something to do with a consecrated Buddha-tuft, as, for example, among the Lolo; cf. Lin Yüeh-hwa, I-chia. In any case the tufts of hair are nowadays shaved off again. Probably the tufts, like the custom as a whole, were taken over from the Chinese. The Chinese call these children's hair-tufts tsung-chiao

[171]

[628 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 624 cont.] (roughly = little head horn). To what extent they thereby characterize childhood is shown by the expression tsung-chiao chih chiao, friendship since childhood (literally: little head horn connection).

[778] his hands into a little roll and twirls one thread out of it with which he ties it to the arrow of good fortune. Formerly these strands were drawn through a coin with a hole in it, and this, together with the ball of hair, was hung on the arrow. The hair of the children thus remain on the arrow of good fortune throughout their lives.

852
[784] Then the father goes with the child and the arrow of good fortune into the yard and makes the great incense offering. On this occasion the child kowtows to the sky for the first time. After the offering the arrow is taken back to its original place (5).

[527]
[177]

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5. [Foreign text pp. 624-625.] The first birthday celebration was evidently taken over from the Chinese there. An example of how it is practiced elsewhere in China, taken from J. Doolittle, Social Life (p. 90), will be presented here for the sake of clarity: "On the first birthday the mother is presented with another thank-offering, and other gifts of clothing and food are received by the grandmother on the maternal side. If it is a boy, a pair of shoes and a cap are found among other items of clothing; if it is a girl, then arm bands and head ornaments are also found among other articles of clothing. The preparations for the thank-offering

[638 cont.]

292 765 [171] Mourning dress: Mourning is worn immediately after the death. It does not consist of a special white garb, as among the Chinese, but only of a change of dress.

During the period of mourning the men remove their colorful vests and take everything colored off their clothing, such as neck bands, sleeve edging, etc. Their long cloak is turned and worn with the lining, or in winter with the fur, on the outside. [302] They do not cut their hair, and they let the beard grow. The red or green trouser belt made of cloth is replaced by [639] a white or black one. Instead of the clothes-belt they wear a thick hemp string.

Like the men, the women also remove the colorful sleeve strips, trouser trimming, and shoe and boot ornamentation, especially everything red. The red or green skirt over the trousers is not worn at all. Instead of the colorful clothes, the woman puts on only a simple upper garment of one color. She takes off the ear pendants, arm bands, and the neck band, and [301] removes from her headdress all lace, tassels, and hanging strings, as well as the silver hair cap [Haarschale] and the little copper plates. She keeps only the simple, rigid frame of the headdress and covers its colorful strips uniformly by sticking green paper on them. She puts a blue cloth made of coarse linen over this as a head veil. She replaces her broad and colorful belt with a hemp string.

[602] [593] All the close relatives are required to wear mourning dress, those who also must give the death-offering. The only exception is the husband upon the death of his wife. He may not wear mourning.

764 782 [602] Prayer service: The prayer service is called "prayer tea." The relatives on the father's side assemble daily in the house of mourning; toward evening they sit on the kang around the open fire in the kitchen and pray the mani for the dead on their mani-string. When they are finished, they receive noodle soup and go home. This prayer service lasts until the day of cremation. One need not sit around the kang fire, however, but can also perform these prayers before the death-box itself.

[866 cont.]

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[Note on foreign text p. 868 cont.] about the various forms of the burning-place (mandala) and the Tibetan-Chinese names. Also, the addresses of the fire-pouring are different (p. 151); in addition, other burnt offerings are enumerated there.

It must be noted that among the Tujen a simple, popular form is involved, which varies according to location and the situation of the population. It is only too understandable that the ordinary people know nothing about the complicated and in part tantric symbolism. It is enough for them if through the ceremony the gods provide for their welfare and protection and if the demons remain far away.

782 The black fire-pouring: The persons are the same. The [302] lama and his helper, however, smear their faces with soot. They [792] also wear black clothes. All objects are black, the torma, the felt mat, the wall, the ground-drawing, etc.

[372] Instead of firewood one takes pig or camel dung. Black sticks are stuck around the black torma on the ground-drawing; the intestines of a black sheep are suspended on them in garland fashion. The intestines are not cleaned, but are full of dung. In place of the butter one takes black linseed oil, and the dung is soaked in it so that it will burn better.

The burnt offerings are: black barley, black linseed, the seed of the wild rape, wheat mixed with black earth, dark beans, glutenous rice colored black, herbs colored black, etc.

[778] As votive offerings for the black tormas, which represent the demons, one takes milk from a black sheep and urine from a black donkey served in a black bowl, and, as incense, pig dung.

[213 cont.]

782 The pig offering proceeds like the sheep offering, however little appropriate the procedure is for this animal. -- The hen offering is done without much ceremony. The animal's head is cut or twisted off, the hen is swung around in a circle so that the blood squirts around, and then it is allowed to fly. I do not know whether the hen is consumed later. It certainly did not happen in several cases observed.

778 782 The animal-consecration is already unequivocally an offering in that the animal is given up by human beings as a voluntary gift to a god and normally may not be used any more.

I could confirm nothing about a human consecration, which Mostaert (DMF, p. 371 under sdien) mentions, unless the shaman consecration is meant, or the recommendation of a child to a tutelary spirit whose name it later bears. In any event the vow [831 302 588] of virginity could be regarded as an offering to heaven, as a sign of which a girl lets her hair fall down freely; cf. DMF, p. 103. One can also include its counterpart, namely, the marriage of a girl with heaven, whose sign is the "heavenly hairdo"; cf. Schram, Mariage, pp. 127 ff.

[214] Recipients of the Offering

782 776 To what extent heaven has a share in all offerings and what offerings are reserved for it will be discussed below. The pig is inadmissible as an offering for the higher deities (except for the earth), and the hen likewise. They are the sacrificial animals for lower gods and demons.

Whether there is an actual offering to the demons is questionable. In the case of the ceremonies dealing with the evil spirits, for instance, the demon-escort, the figure-litter, the various tormas, etc., one regards the accompanying gifts, designated as rdzē, as things that the demon needs or likes, for example, the riding animal, the clothes, the money, the wool, etc. Furthermore, aside from the intent to appease and to satisfy, there is also a certain contempt for the demon connected with these gifts, in that raw flesh, leeks, beans, and unclean intestines are offered to it, as though to a wild bestial creature.

[231 cont.]

776 577 626 [192] heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven. A much-used expression is: "tieṅgĕre dardzia, heaven has punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolgue dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)

[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 585 626 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity, [171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of [533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair. (Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.) Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness: "We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge tieṅgĕrni amudadzi, nigĕ nisĕni dzawa dañlieya)." Likewise [588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram, op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called [302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). -- [831] The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzūn tieṅgĕrde fdzĕ bōlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

[235 cont.]

a) The bŏ or Drum-shamans

Characterization

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192 The name: The Tujen name current throughout the land, bŏ, corresponds to the written Mongolic bŭge. Koval. (1242) gives for it the Chinese equivalent wu-jen, the Manchurian saman, the Tatar bugu, and the Tibetan lha-pa. The Russian expressions means: shaman, sorcerer; he translates it into French as: chaman, enchanteur. The Mongolic bŭge and all the other translations cited do not have any uniform meaning and can be used for the various types of shamans, exorcists, and even sorcerers.

The Chinese in the area and the Tujen translate bŏ with fashih, or somewhat contemptuously with shih-kung. The fa-shih call themselves only by this special name. According to communications (P. P. Eichinger, Bockwinkel), the name wu-shih is also in use in southern Kansu. It is important that all these designations are never permissible for the gurtum. The fa-shih are a special group that is to be clearly defined. (Space forbids going into an explanation of the names here.)

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302 Clothing and equipment. -- The fa-shih wear an old woman's costume without sleeves and usually patterned with pictures of dragons. Normally they have no head covering, but their hair is pinned up in the fashion of an old Chinese style for women, unless they are wearing an appropriate wig with hairknots, hair-bowl, and hairpin. These are not always available, however. On special occasions, they don the well-known five-part Buddhistic crown called p'ai-tzu.

756 Their essential equipment consists of the hoop drum, the hemp whip, and a three-pronged broad dagger. Other objects are added according to their functions.

756
776 Gods. -- Their principal deity is the great mother (ta niang-niang), also called mother of the nine heavens (chiu t'ien nai-nai). In addition, they also venerate the black tiger

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

costume, as follows: a long Chinese gown of black cloth, with a large flat collar, in the manner of the Taoist priests, crossing over the chest and buttoned on the left side. Over the gown he wears a coat of silk, adorned with flowers or dragons, having large sleeves and reaching below the knees. The coat is similar to the one worn under the empire by distinguished Chinese. The black color of the gown is unusual in the country and is confined to the shamans. Stress should be put on the startling difference existing between the simple official dress of the Monguor shaman and the official dress of many shamans among the nomads, whose main article of costume consists of a large mantle adorned with superstitious paraphernalia and symbols. Clothed in the mantle the shamans feel themselves possessed by their spirits; without it, they cannot perform their rites. This mantle is said to be worn by the black shamans living in the mountains south of the Hsining River. No traditions are prevalent to the effect that the Monguor shamans used the mantle in former times, but it is always said that they never wore it.

CINCTURE

The long black gown is belted by a long strip of black cotton, wrapped a couple of times around the waist, as all lay people do. The shamanists among the Mongols of Ordos take off their girdle [16] four times a year, while performing their important rite by means of prostrations, facing the sun. Chingis having escaped with his life from pursuing brigands took off his girdle, put it around his neck, and facing the sun, prostrated nine times.[17] Among the Monguors the girdle has not the same importance. Monguor shamans and shamanists never take off the sash when they honor "Heaven and all the spirits" or perform rites.

The Mongols of Ordos, if the bridegroom happens to become sick on the day of the marriage, marry the bride with his belt.[18] The Monguors do not perform such marriages, but when a girl has relations with a traveling guest, she asks for his girdle and name. If she becomes pregnant, she ceremoniously marries the girdle, is called Mrs. so-and-so, according to the name of the guest, and her child is similarly named.[19]

CAPS [20]

The Monguor shamans use three kinds of caps, all three black in color: the first is a kind of toque, a brimless pliable bonnet having a tassel of dog hair on top. This cap is similar to that of the Chinese Taoist priests. On the top of the cap, next to the tassel of dog hair, a hole is left through which is seen a hairpin which holds

[16] A. Mostaert, *Dictionaire Ordos*, 84.
[17] P. Pelliot, *Œuvres posthumes, Histoire secrète des Mongols*, Chap. II, paragraph 103, Paris, Adrien Maisonneuve, 1949.
[18] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 176.
[19] L. Schram, *Mariage chez les T'ou-jen*, 130.
[20] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148.

[p. 83(A)]

4: Schram M-S (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the hair coiled inside the cap. All the shamans wear the pigtail, which they coil when performing rites.

Traditional pictures of Taoist saints show that these worthies were wont to wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head. The Manchu Tartars conquered China and compelled the people to adopt their coiffure and shave their heads except on the top, where it was allowed to grow long and be braided as a pigtail. The *sai kung*, like the whole nation, had to submit to this order, but with pious conservatism they have preserved the ancient orthodox fashion on behalf of their altar service; that is to say, while officiating they coil their hair into a knot upon their heads and cover the shaven part around it with a wig of braided human hair.[21]

The Monguor shamans, however, do not wear the wig.

The Manchus not only preserved their traditional style of dress and haircut, they even compelled Chinese men during the period of invasion to adopt Manchu dress, shave their heads, and grow the queue. This enforced change was so bitterly resented by the Chinese that many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the Tartars in these ceremonies. The literary inquisition launched during the Ch'ien-lung period reveals that, in the eighteenth century, a Chinese who yearned for the old cap and garments was still considered a dangerous rebel.[22]

The second headdress has the form of a sack, of black cloth, tightly bound around the head. A tail, three feet in length, is fixed on this cap. Plaited with red rope around a twisted black rope of cloth, the tail which is thin at the bottom and thick at the end, is rolled on the head, but released when the shaman is executing acrobatic evolutions.

The third one is a crown, in form like the *chod pon* of the lamas,[23] divided in front into five parts, bearing a crude picture of the god of the five roads, the Wu-tao-shen, whose disciples the shamans claim to be. (Shamans never wear a crown with the five Dhyani Buddhas; their antagonism toward Lamaism is too pronounced to do that; they never will perform rites in a Buddhist temple of the village.)[24]

THE DRUM

The drum is one of the important implements of a shaman. It is used to invoke the spirits during the performance of the rites; the spirits enter into it and ritual dances are performed in time with the beat. Every shaman has his own drum, and generally another in reserve. Upon the death of the shaman his drum is buried with him in the coffin, for it is a personal object. The boy apprentices receive a drum of smaller dimensions from their father, on the day of their dedication to the twelve spirits. Apprentices who receive part of their

[21] J. J. M. De Groot, *The religious systems of China* 6: Bk. II: 1267, 1910, Leiden, Brill.

[22] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 12, 1949. However, the Chinese were required to change to Manchu dress at the insistence of a Chinese official. See S. Cammann, *China's dragon robes*, 21, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[23] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 92, Paris, Plon, 1929.

[24] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148, Importance of the cap.

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 292 gown, of finer cloth, is blue, green, red or violet. Two or three sets of extensions, of different lengths and colors and edged in contrasting colors, are sewed to the sleeves of the gown, giving the impression that several gowns are worn. The gown has a red embroidered color; the boots have black feet and red embroidered tops. The woman's trousers, usually dark blue, are tucked into the boot tops like the men's, but for dress occasions she removes the ordinary trouser legs, which are sewed to a hem just below the knee, and replaces them with richly embroidered legs which she wears outside the boots.

N *563 M 294 292 Women make their own boots, sashes and gowns. A Mongour bride spends months preparing these garments for her trousseau. She generally owns only one pair of fancy boots in her lifetime. She wears them only on festival occasions, and at the age of forty she puts them away and wears plain ones.

N *563 M 302 301 [291] Hair styling and headdress are very important to a Mongour woman. Strict tradition rules both. The young girl wears a small bun, bound with red cord and covered with a shell, on the top of her head, and braids the hair in back into two plaits bound together at the neck with red cords and decorated with shells. She never wears a hat.

N *563 M 302 291 [191] There are nine different hair and hat styles, each peculiar to one Mongour group. The married woman wears the style of her husband's group. In general, these styles resemble those of the Mongolian women. Whereas the Chinese women in this part of China never wear hats, the young married woman of the Mongours is never without one. Around home she wears a simple felt hat; on festive occasions she wears the traditional fancy hat of her husband's clan. If her parents are dead when she reaches the age of forty, she puts away her hats, showy boots, extra sleeves and all other finery forever. If her parents are still living, she continues to wear these things for a few more years so the parents will not feel they have yet reached extreme old age.

M [888]

N *563 M 301 Women and girls love jewelry. They often wear three or four bracelets, and three or four rings on the same finger. Married women have elaborate earrings; young girls wear simple ones.

3. Social values and customs

N *563 M 177 [128] [614] There are in Mongour society many practices reminiscent of a matriarchal family structure. Many Mongours, however, have lost their own language, repudiated their Mongour traditions and become entirely Chinese in their social outlook. The following discussion will concern only those people whose clans are called T'u-jen by the Chinese of the Hsi-ning region, and whose chiefs were made T'u-ssu in the Ming Dynasty.

N *563 M 769 614 a. Ancestor worship

Important ancestral rites are performed annually at the be-

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 562 852 [553] first son is an occasion for great rejoicing. Various rituals are performed in connection with the name-giving, and the announcement of the birth to the grandparents on both sides. Everyone in the village is invited to a party, and relatives and friends bring gifts for the baby.

The birth of daughters and younger sons requires less elaborate celebration. Invitations are sent to the child's maternal M [203] [604] [603] [553] uncles to be present at the name-giving ceremony, which is performed by the grandfather. It is thought that a woman's brothers have a powerful influence over the family into which her child is born, and therefore they must be notified properly.

Poor families also celebrate the birth of the first son, al- M [184] though the ceremonies are less elaborate. If the family cannot afford the expense of a feast, rich people of the village often help them. It is not right to allow the birth of a first son to go uncelebrated, for he is the new link in the ancestral chain, and it is he who will grow up to make the sacrifices to the clan ancestor, an important concern to the Mongours.

j. Beard-growing

N *563 M 302 [593] [888] A man may start to grow a beard on the first day of the first or second moon of the new year after his thirtieth birthday, but only if his parents are dead. He must not grow a beard while his parents are alive, as it would remind his parents of their advanced age and approaching death.

k. Wedding, funeral and grave

N *563 M 764 [171] [179] The customs surrounding weddings, funerals and the construction of graves are almost the same among the Mongours as those practiced in traditional China. Their burial, however, is unique. Under the influence of Lama Buddhism, it has become the general custom of the Mongours to cremate their dead. The funeral rites are carried out by lamas. In the olden days, however, the T'u-ssu and the nobles were always buried.

4. Popular beliefs

N *563 M 843 562 Because of the importance of having a son, the pregnant woman is full of hopeful expectation. Everyone in the village knows about the coming event, and is interested in the sex of the child. It is believed that a male child lies on the left side of the womb, a female child on the right. The pregnant woman is watched carefully when she enters a doorway. If she steps over the threshold with her right foot, she is thought to be carrying a boy; if with her left foot, a girl. The logic behind this notion is that a boy makes the left side heavier than the right, so the mother will instinctively raise her right foot to make a step upward.

N *563 M 553 777 789 If several children in a family have died in infancy, the head of a family blessed with many children will be invited to name a newborn child, in the hope that some of his good luck may pass on the luckless family.

[323 cont.]

T 142 look in their earliest childhood, which is then lost when they get older.

34. Mongolian woman from the Ra lo tribe near Tchü tsang se, Ta tung hiän, with pronounced Mongoloid features, consisting of strong zygomatic arches, Mongolian fold, deep-saddled button shaped nose, flat face and high forehead.

M 142 Figures 25-39. Tu jen (Monguor or Dolden)

35. Two women from the Dung kou near Hu chu; the man beside them is a Turk. In the women the Mongolian features are quite pronounced. The Monguor are Old Mongolians, who parted at an early date from the present Mongolians. In contrast to them the Turk with his profiled face and the heavy growth of beard shows the European stamp of the Old Form [Altform] like Figures 14 and 45. The Tu jen wear the most varied forms of fantastic head ornamentation, made of cloth and twisted strings, and they like bright-colored, gay clothes with pretty embroidery. Noteworthy are the stuffed animals (made of cloth) as decoration: rabbit and lamb on the woman on the right; horse and crab on the woman in the middle.

36. Forty-year old woman from the vicinity of Hu chu with a string of mussel shells on her breast.

37. Tu jen woman with a trident headdress from the vicinity of Lo tu. She shows the long-faced Mongoloid type.

38. Eighteen-year old Tu jen bride from the Ho ngä dse kou. The Mongolian fold is missing; the nose is higher.

T 142 301 39. Thirty-five year old Angar woman from the Ba ya ta wan tribe near Kan chow in Nän shän. By language the Angar are Old Mongolians like the Tu jen. The women has a strikingly thin and narrow nose with a bent tip. The open eye has no Mongolian fold. The face is long and narrow and of a Europid strain. Typical for the Angar women are the braid-covers made of metal rings with stones and enamel.

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T 142 Figures 40-54 Mixed types.

40. Twenty-two year old agricultural Tibetan woman from the vicinity of Tchü tsang se, Ta tung hiän. The long narrow nose, the long lower part of the face and the open eyes show

7: Hermanns--334 E.5 (1935-1945) 1948 AJI Tibet
Monguor AE9

142
291
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35) Tu jen (Dung kou)

36) Tu jen (Hu chu)

7: Hermanns--335 E, 5 (1935-1945) 1948 AJI Tibet
Mongher AE9

37) Tu jen
(Lo tu)

38) Tu jen
(Ho nä dse)